THE

TWELVE LETTERS

OF

CANANA:

ON

The Impropriety of petitioning the KING to diſſolve the PARLIAMENT.

LETTER I. That it is not to be wiſhed the KING ſhould, at this Time, diſſolve the PARLIAMENT.

II. That it is not the Senſe of the People to deſire it.

III. That 'tis a Faction only which ſupport the Requeſt.

IV. That they muſt be weak, as well as wicked, who deviſed it.

V. That no good Man, who thinks; will have any thing to do with preſenting a Petition.

VI. The Downfall of Petitions.

VII. On the Terms, Alarming Criſis.

VIII. On the Importance of the London Patriots.

IX. To the Freeholders of the remote Counties.

X. On Volunteer Preſenters.

XI. On the Decline of the Party.

XII. Its final Overthrow.

LONDON: Printed for the AUTHOR, 1770.

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE

KING.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

A Subject, who is very ſenſible of the happineſs to be ſuch; and who on all occaſions, (ſo far as his limited ſphere of life permitted) has teſtified his humble zeal, and reverence for the throne; preſumes now to lay before Your Majeſty a ſeries of Papers; in which he has endeavoured, not altogether without ſucceſs, to contribute ſomewhat to an object

always dear to Your Majeſty; the repoſe, and happineſs of Your People.

Permit him, ſacred Sir, to lay them at Your feet: where every thing that has been only intended to do good, has always found protection: and with the moſt pure zeal, and perfect duty, to ſubſcribe to them the humble name of

A

The AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

FEW people think more lightly of Newspaper Politicians, than the Perſon who added himſelf to their number by theſe Letters: But as fame could have no part in the intentions of a Writer, who is, and probably will continue unknown; ſo there were very palpable motives which directed his thoughts into this manner of conveyance.

The multitude were to read; who ſeldom meddle with books: and, by throwing the opinions to be maintained into the way of general converſation and diſpute, it was plain, the points they were meant to eſtabliſh, would, if juſt, have a thouſand advocates: and if they were not ſo, it was no matter what became of them.

Two objects alone were propoſed to be conſidered, *The Impropriety of Petitions*, and *the Unworthineſs of thoſe who promoted them.* At the time when this was undertaken, the middle of November 1769, (for it is a period fit to be commemorated) the City of London, with its Suburbs, and ſome of the Counties, were in a ſtate of wildneſs; the meaner ſort of their inhabitants were heated with drink, and enflamed by more than drunken

drunken oratory: A few miſchievous perſons placed themſelves at their head; and the reſt followed like the ſoldiers in a Turkiſh army, without knowing, or even enquiring into the cauſe on which they uttered all their fury.

The clamour had one worſe effect; for it led others, men of a better character, though weak in judgment, to join, and, for a time, to countenance them.

In this ſtate of things, and in oppoſition to this diſtracted rabble, and their abettors, the Author of theſe Papers ventured to ſtand forth; attempting nothing but by calm and rational perſuaſion; and appealing only to the good ſenſe of the People.

His purpoſe was firſt to rouſe their attention, by a ſteady oppoſition to their ſentiments: and thence to appeal to their reaſon. The matter therefore was arranged into ſhort portions; not to tire, or confuſe a common underſtanding; and cloathed in different manners, and language, according to the circumſtances of time and place; and the natural turn of the expected readers.

It is no ſecret, that a certain ſet of people, at this time, traverſed the kingdom to ſolicit Petitions: Wherever they went, this Writer followed them: whatever they were about, CANANA was at their heels; and every where oppoſed them, in ſuch manner, as beſt ſuited the ſituation they had produced. The propoſed Preſenters were attacked with arguments; the London Patriots with ridicule; and the common People with plain unornamented Truth. The Freeholder of Norfolk read this in his own blunt language, and the Leiceſterſhire Grey Coat was anſwered in his

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own journal * : Mean while, the thoughts firſt publiſhed in theſe Letters, were ſpread in different words thro' all the London news-papers: for no age was ever more pregnant than this, in Metaphraſts; or, to deſcend to their own reading, no Authors were ever ſo famous in the ingenious art of re-writing.

Plato is ſaid to have brought down Philoſophy from Heaven. The humbler aim in theſe Letters has been to carry information from its natural circle here, into the remoter parts of England: that honeſt Gentlemen might not be wonderfully earneſt there, about what here was look'd on as a jeſt, or bubble.

It will, perhaps, ſcarce be credited, but it is not the leſs true, that a perſon unſolicited, and to this hour unknown, has publiſhed theſe; merely from a love of juſtice, and from the feelings of humanity. A Miniſter might have directed ſuch a courſe with prudence; and it would have been effected without difficulty; nor could the number of the enemy have made it tireſome. We have faggots among our diurnal Politicians: and a name does not always imply an exiſtence: Perhaps five or ſix perſons own all thoſe in the Political Kalendar: Nor can I agree in the general opinion, that contempt is the prudent ſtep with theſe writers: Indeed none can deſerve it more than themſelves; but thoſe whom they ſeduce have yet a claim to pity.

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* See Additional Letter, p. 40.

'Tis

'Tis plain they deſerve this care; becauſe it takes the due effect upon them; the conſequence of the preſent weak effort is a proof of it: For not only many of the propoſed Preſenters of Petitions have now withdrawn themſelves; but the very Promoters of them ſtagger. No artifice has been able to produce any new one, ſince the arguments againſt them have been put into all hands; nor is there a thought of any farther addition to this unworthy proceeding, unleſs it be among the moſt profligate and proſtituted of mankind; the wretches who live by the pay, and tumult of Elections.

CANANA's TWELVE LETTERS.

LETTER I.

That it is not fit the King ſhould, at this time, diſſolve the Parliament.

THE Engliſh have never been rightly underſtood, except by themſelves: they are called hot-headed, turbulent; outrageous, and incapable of being ſatisfied: theſe epithets make up our deſcription among Foreigners; yet not one of theſe belongs to us. We are a *moody* people. This is our character; and it is one ſo ſingular, there is not in any other language a word to expreſs it.

Does any one forget the image Shakeſpeare gives of Henry the Fifth, when Prince of Wales, from the mouth of the old king, his father:

> For he is gracious, if he be obſerved:
> He hath a tear for pity, and a hand
> Open as day for melting charity:
> Yet notwithſtanding, being incens'd, he's flint,
> As humorous as Winter, and as ſudden
> As flaws congealed in the ſpring of day.
> So being MOODY, give him line and ſcope,
> Till that his paſſions, like a whale on ground,
> Confound themſelves with working. ——

This is the character of one of the braveſt and moſt amiable of our princes; and 'tis the portrait of every one amongſt us. There is not an Engliſhman alive that is not every inch a Prince in all this circumſtance.

We are capricious and whimſical, but not intentionally miſchievous; ready to ſnatch at new opinions (perhaps the more ready as they are the more remote from reaſon) eager in their ſupport; and impatient of violence in the controul: The Engliſh are, therefore, of all people the moſt eaſily miſled: and, while the error is kept up with art, the moſt determined in ſupport of it: ſo juſtly, ſo glorioufly ſenſible of Liberty, that they hold all things dirt, compared with it; ſo brave, that death is nothing in its defence. 'Tis in this cauſe the national ſpirit is ſooneſt raiſed, and eaſieſt inflamed; and he that is in full poſſeſſion of it, will walk into the fire rather than turn out of the ſtrait path that he thinks leads to it.

Hence riſes all our preſent trouble: deſigning men have grafted upon this immortal ſtock, the ſhort-lived growths of riot and ſedition. This would be a Peer, for he is rich; and that a Biſhop, for my Lord ſounds, in his ears, roundly: one wiſhes a Miniſter removed, becauſe he wants his place; another, for he perſonally hates him: it grows a common cauſe; a thouſand join it; for there are a thouſand who have the ſame wants and the ſame paſſions. The People only can enforce their purpoſes; and therefore the People are to be deluded into it.

The Commons have refuſed a man at once, whom they might have expelled, without reproof,

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as often as he was elected. Is there any real difference in theſe meaſures? And yet the People are aſſured 'tis a proceeding which deſtroys their freedom. They catch the notion, and they are mad in the purſuit of it: Liberty is the word; and their moody temper ſanctifies the cheat. They muſt have line enough; their whim muſt have its way; and by and by they will be gentle, and hear reaſon. Perhaps they will hear it now; but who is there to offer it them?

They have been heated, urged and driven along by arguments adapted to their mood: they have run with the hook, for it was well concealed;—but they have had their ſweep, and they'll return. Words are for artful purpoſes: plain ſenſe does beſt with Britons. Let them hear this ſhort truth. There is not, as I moſt firmly believe; THERE IS NOT ONE MAN IN THE KINGDOM WHO THINKS IT RIGHT THE KING SHOULD NOW DISSOLVE THE PARLIAMENT; not one! Many doubtleſs wiſh it; for there are men would fire a church, to light their pipe at it: thoſe wiſh it who love riot and debauchery; thoſe who are to ſell, and thoſe who would be ſold; but there is not one, I am perſuaded, even of theſe, who thinks it PROPER. The cauſe does not deſerve it; and it might wound what they pretend to wiſh invulnerable.

Let the People but receive this ſingle truth; (and 'tis ſo plain, that it muſt be received;) and there drop all Petitions. This palpable fact once fairly allowed, all the writings and the ſpeeches, the eſſays and harangues about them, ſink at once into their original nothing: the enchanted caſtle will vaniſh, on breaking of the taliſman;

and the People will return with gentleneſs to their duty; for though they are moody, they are not unjuſt.

CANANA.

LETTER II.

That it is not the Senſe of the People to deſire it.

THAT the People of England have a right to petition their Sovereign, is a truth ſo palpable, that thoſe who thunder it inceſſantly in their ears, tell them nothing but what they know already; and they who ranſack Hiſtory to prove it, would be employed as wiſely, if they brought arguments to convince us, 'tis day-light when the ſun ſhines.

Every ſubject has this right; and what King ever received thoſe applications more graciouſly? The very pooreſt have taken heart to preſent them; and when the matter of their ſuit was truth, and cloathed with decency, not one has ever wanted ſuch redreſs as it was proper ſhould be given.

To doubt the People have this right collectively, were an abſurdity too groſs for ignorance: The ſenſe of the whole ought to have a great weight; and will, at all times: but I am convinced, that to petition the King now to diſſolve the Parliament IS NOT THE SENSE OF THE PEOPLE.

A few

A few turbulent men, with a miſguided rabble at their heels, muſt not be dignified with the name of the People of England. I am one of the People; I therefore have a right to ſpeak: I converſe with others; men of integrity, of ſenſe, and property; and I proteſt before that Public, whom no man reverences more, that I have not met with any ſuch, who wiſh the King ſhould do it.

The People have indeed this right to petition; but 'tis pity any of them uſed it in the preſent inſtance. Does every man do every thing he has a right to do? No certainly! Right and propriety may lie upon two ſides; and men may plead a right to do ſome things, which every obligation, human and divine, forbids.

But there is yet much more againſt this reigning madneſs: there is a deluſion in the management of it, which many do not ſee. Thoſe who have blazed abroad this right in the People to petition, ought to have told them alſo, that they have not a right, nor can have, to inſert in thoſe petitions, indecent terms, or unjuſt accuſations: if any have done this, let them beware: and let thoſe beware yet more, who are about to take upon themſelves the matter of ſuch papers, by preſenting them: they are not merely carriers; they adopt the allegations; and are equal in offence to thoſe who drew them. If it be true, that ſome perſons of the law have by this practice ſet themſelves againſt the peace of the kingdom, they ought at leaſt to have given alſo this caution: thoſe who have thoughts to preſent them, will remember it is given now; and thank a candid enemy, who has reminded them.

As to the reſt, once let us ſee it fairly. Chicanery ſhrinks to nothing before Reaſon. If it be true, the Commons have in this one act, taken to themſelves a power the conſtitution has not given them, yet what is the ill that is done? Repeated expulſions would have anſwered the ſame purpoſe: only that theſe, giving opportunity for repeated elections, would have filled the ſtreets with tumult, riot, debauchery, and death. The Parliament have ſtood forth to prevent this; and if they have erred; I know not that it is ſo; but if they have, I reverence ſuch an error. No harm is done to any. The point may be given up to ſatisfy the punctilio, and the end anſwered by the other means: but in all this what needs a diſſolution?

The reverend opinion I entertain of the People aſſures me, they will liſten to theſe reaſons; for there are none whatever, when their mood is off, more ready for a juſt conviction. Thoſe men are but fools, who think to riſe to greatneſs on their foibles: their faults are follies; but their virtues are divine.

As for the petitions which are already on foot, it were vain to think of ſtopping their wild courſe; nor is it worth the care: thoſe whales are on the ground, and we muſt leave them to confound themſelves with working: but if it ſtop there; if the line be now drawn between miſchief and deluſion, he that has contributed but the leaſt to it, may ſay to his own heart, he was not born in vain.

This is the preſent Hope: nor is it an expectation grounded in raſhneſs; it has the firmeſt baſe; it reſts upon the good ſenſe of the People.

ple. They have been led to follies, of which they will be aſhamed, by men they will deteſt: Some reſtive bellwethers have broke the hedge, and they have poured through the gap with them; the herd have run, for they ſaw others running; but they will ſtop at once.

They muſt have ſeen, by the true ſtate of the Devonſhire petition, that they have been made the tools of a Faction, which ſubſiſted only upon falſhood; but when they heard the Corniſh boroughs meant alſo to petition, it muſt have grown too rank: this muſt have ſtunk even in the no noſes of the Tavern Aſſembly.

There may perhaps be errors where they are told; for what man, or what body of men, can be without them? We never thought the Commons more than human: if there have been ſuch, the relief is eaſy; but 'tis not to be ſought this way. To attack the Houſe of Commons of England, the moſt reſpectable body in all the world, from Brentford, and through that election, calls up the idea of their ſwinging Peer in the maid's garret, peeping at the ſpot in the ſun with an opera glaſs.

CANANA.

LETTER III.

That it is a Faction only that ſupports the Requeſt.

To the FREEHOLDER JUNIUS.

I AM not ignorant what *Junius* is; nor at a loſs to follow his meanders. There is a

clue that leads through all of them. 'Tis not a change of form, a fictitious ſtyle, the alteration of a ſignature, or the writing by another hand, that can miſlead the ſearch. A. B. and the FREEHOLDER are the ſame; and whether theſe or JUNIUS ſtands at the bottom of the Letter, the Creature of the Faction never is concealed. Their feelings and their folly cannot be diſguiſed; and 'tis no matter which of all theſe cyphers it is that to-day gives them utterance.

Eloquent emptineſs! I had no wiſh to meddle with you. Why would you bring this trouble on yourſelf? Why Junius, idle and petulant! why would you attack me? I could have ſeen you riot in your wordy wantonneſs without concern; I could have been content to let you plume your light creſt in peace, and wield your little trident; nay, if myſelf alone had been the object, I could have ſpar'd you now. But when you attack the cauſe; the cauſe of virtuous Liberty, and the Britiſh Conſtitution: a cauſe too great (but that there are no better ready) for you or I to meddle with; when you have dar'd to call it a diſtraction to ſay, THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND DO NOT JOIN THE RABBLE OF PETITIONERS, 'tis time to ſpeak; and I muſt be content to anſwer, even you!

Now, Junius, know yourſelf (for there ſeems nothing to which you are more a ſtranger) and know the nature of the charge againſt you! I would not wrong you by unfair ſuſpicions; I don't accuſe you of the untruths that are aſſerted in thoſe letters, no, not of any of them! Far be it from me to charge you as the AUTHOR of theſe Papers! You ſtand, in my eye, only as the

WRITER:

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I allow you Talents that might recommend you to ſuch judges; though, I thank Heaven! not calculated to do much miſchief: I allow you Cunning, but that's a paltry quality—Spirit, but ill-directed Spirit is more tireſome even than Dulneſs—Words in abundance; but a ſad ſcantineſs of Thought.

That *you* ſhould ſay the Freeholders wiſh a Diſſolution of the Parliament, becauſe *I* ſay they do not; is nothing; (for you and I are nobody) but why betray your cauſe, by calling it diſtraction? Abuſe never convinced even a fool. Go, go to ſchool, and learn the difference between raillery and railing! So diſguſtful is ill language, that even I, who hate you all, could not read the attack of t'other day, upon your neareſt friend, without emotions of diſdain and deteſtation. Misfortunes ſhould be ſacred, and to abuſe a gallant fellow (for that he is with all his faults) while under the ſentence of the law, was baſe, 'twas infamous, 'twas more than ſavage barbariſm.

You call me diſtracted, for ſaying the People do not wiſh the Parliament to be diſſolved: I hold you ſomething worſe, for pretending to think they do, and expecting to be believed in that pretence. You cannot think it; you have too much ſenſe: you know too well the difference between a PARTY and a PEOPLE. But this muſt reſt for time to be decided; only remember, I think you have given me a weighty ground for triumph.

Nor muſt I give you leave to think this vain

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vain aſſault has troubled me; quite otherwiſe: It is an honour to be attack'd by you; it ſhews my ſentiments are oppoſite to thoſe you muſt ſupport: What can be greater praiſe?—It has the air of goodneſs to be an object of inſult to thoſe whom virtue offends: Or, to come home to you in one particular, 'tis glory to be revil'd by him who wounded juſtice and humanity in the perſon of the Duke of ——.

Junius, you remember what you wrote of him! You will remember it! For though it ſerved a purpoſe, mankind cried out againſt it; and well they might! I ſhould not wonder if the cruelty of that attack, the petulance and volubility of tongue, ſhould lead thoſe who hate the better ſex, to ſay 'twas written by a Woman.

The Duke of ——! What character is greater or more amiable! If you would know what 'tis in politics, read it and bluſh! (if ſuch as you can bluſh) go read it in the Word CONSISTENCY! In legiſlation, what could be more worthy than that oppoſition by which he ſhook (tho' nothing could overthrow it) a law, ſince thought of with concern by many; declaring he would rather ſee his ſon (for he had then a ſon) marry with indiſcretion; than prevent it by thoſe means! If you would know his private virtues, aſk in his neighbourhood, aſk the oppreſſed, the injured, and the poor.

What could be nobler than his marrying that ſon (juſt named, and never to be forgotten!) that ſon who might have taken his choice throughout the world; for virtue, not for fortune? Or, what could ſanctify that judgment like —— Stop, Reader, for a tear!—that lady's death!

death! death by a broken heart! without any other diſeaſe than ſorrow for her lord! A ſingle inſtance! 'twould have done honour to an age of virtue: In this, where marriage is a mockery, it deſerves a ſtatue. But it has more; there is an image of it engraved on every honeſt heart, and our childrens children ſhall relate the ſtory with reverence and with tears.

CANANA.

LETTER IV.

That they muſt be weak, as well as wicked, who deviſed it.

THE many who appear for theſe Petitions, tho' in the catalogue they ſtand for men, have little farther claim to that diſtinction: But there are ſome amongſt them of another character: It cannot but be owned that there appear upon their liſts a few perſons, whoſe names have been no leſs honoured by their former actions, than they are diſgraced by this.

We wonder how they came there! We are aſtoniſhed that men, neither WEAK NOR WICKED in their former conduct, ſhould thruſt themſelves into theſe faults and follies; but who ſhall have the boldneſs to aſſign their reaſon? For who can penetrate into the ſecrets of the human heart? All that we can know is humiliating: We read in it the very paltrineſs of our condition; we ſee that men, to whom God has given the divine attribute

attribute of reaſon, and who have given themſelves the godlike character of virtue, can ſacrifice it all to paſſions; to views wherein they are but a very little ſtep removed above the brutes. I ſee this: I ſtand dumb with pity and with wonder, and grieve for human nature!

Let no man think I hold theſe perſons low, merely for differing in opinion from the King's preſent ſervants. I am an Engliſhman, and while I feel, as my heart feels it now, that glorious title, I muſt be quite incapable of ſuch a thought. I hope I ſhall never ſee a miniſtry without oppoſition, nor an oppoſition without ſpirit: but there is a difference between oppoſition and aſſaſſination; between ſpirit and diſtraction.

Does any man conceive that they can love their Country; that they can reverence the Conſtitution; who pray and urge the Sovereign to diſſolve the Parliament? Oh! 'tis impoſſible; it is impoſſible that they can wiſh well to the Britiſh people; nay 'tis impoſſible that any man, who will pauſe but a moment to think calmly, can believe they do. The propoſal is abſurdity, or worſe; and to pretend it grounded upon a reſpect for the conſtitution, is an inſult upon the underſtanding of mankind. The complaint itſelf is frivolous; and the attempt ridiculous, prepoſterous, and pernicious: 'Tis as if a man ſhould run about proclaiming a dear love of life; and deſire every one he met to knock him o' the head.

There needs but one moment of reflection to be aſſured of this; and, Countrymen, 'tis for that moment alone I plead; paſſion may lead you to overlook truth,

truth, but nothing can confound the good ſenſe of the Engliſh. You need no arguments on this plain head: to think, is to be convinced. If one man for the quarrel of his houſe becomes a Patriot, or if another, becauſe his weakneſs in adminiſtration turned him out, would overſet the kingdom to come in again, are you to make yourſelves the willing ſacrifices? Are you to be the dupes of petty wranglings, or of mean ambition? or would you throw away with open eyes all that is dear to you, to raiſe a few men, whom you know nothing of, to power; and who, when they had reached the aſcent, would kick the ladder down, and never think of you again.

They have no ſtrength but yours, and that they would abuſe: look to the hiſtory of other times to ſee it; 'tis all one what period you chuſe to call to your remembrance, for all afford this leſſon. Men who wanted places have at all times tried to diſturb thoſe who had them: they have always got the People ſo far as they could to aſſiſt them, and if they ſucceeded they have as conſtantly dropped the People afterwards. I will not call late inſtances into your minds. If you remember where you have placed your favour, you cannot want a guide to point out to you where you have found defection and ingratitude.

If the Adminiſtration thought theſe men had any real conſequence; for they have none but what you are pleaſed to give them; if it was but ſuſpected that they had any; and if thoſe they are inſulting could deſcend to meanneſs, they would be ſoon bought out of oppoſition: a coronet and half a dozen penſions would reduce

all

all to calmneſs and to quiet. All would be peace; but you would be the dupes of it: Your labour would be taxed to pay thoſe penſions: 'Tis you who raiſe the funds that muſt ſupply them. Your induſtry would want its honeſt recompence; your children would go hungry to their beds, and yourſelves would pay a ſixth part more all your lives long for that beer you are now pouring down for nothing.

CANANA.

LETTER V.

That no good Man who thinks, will have any thing to do with preſenting a Petition.

THE People think! they are drawing back: and more may be perhaps accompliſhed than we had dared to expect. We ſhall have few more Petitions; we ſhall ſee little new diſtraction; for they are convinced, and they attend to reaſon. This claim they have of petitioning, this right that they had ſo furiouſly driven into their ears, now once explained to them, has loſt all the falſe force that was aſcribed to it. They ſee they have no right to inſert in their Petitions ſuch paſſages as have appeared in ſome of them; they feel they have no cauſe to exert this unqueſtioned right; and they will no more draw themſelves into danger.

The farmer has a right to his gun, he has a right to the charge he has put into it, and he has a right

a right to fire it off at pleaſure; but he has no right to fire it thro' a hedge with people paſſing on the other ſide.

But more is done than this; there is a pauſe in thoſe who were advancing to the throne with ready made Petitions;—'tis ſo, and every honeſt man rejoices to perceive it. Let us improve the circumſtance, and turn upon them (for we uſe no other arms) all the artillery of their own reaſon. Perhaps they will take example by thoſe whom they affect to love and reverence, the People.

To imitate the People, ſuppoſe we ſhould addreſs them in this manner: You who have, in the courſe of many years, acquired, by virtuous means, an honourable reputation;—but ſtay, this can't be ſaid to all of them: Let us ſelect one, (for what is ſaid to one ſhould influence all) and there is one ſo amiable, and ſo worthy, that he excludes all choice†. Let us ſuppoſe a man who loves, reſpects, eſteems this noble Perſon, for ſo *Canana* does moſt perfectly; ſuppoſe then in a cool hour of the morning this friend (if true affection may aſſume that name) to addreſs him in this manner:

I need not talk of the reſpect I have for you; you always knew it, and you know it is ſincere, for what have I to do with intereſt? Let it obtain me for a few plain words, a cool and candid hearing. Have you once aſked yourſelf this eaſy queſtion, What will be the conſequences of this that I am doing, if it ſhould ſucceed? Come, come, I know you have not, for you are too wiſe not to have foreſeen them, and too honeſt to have promoted them. Do it now! aſk of yourſelf what is to follow, that which you would call ſuc-

† Lord V. ceſs;

ceſs; and it will ſave you from an action you would for ever repent, and tear you from a party, who, while you build your hopes upon their influence, have little ſtrength like what your countenance gives them.

Separate yourſelf from them one hour, from the very thoughts of them, retire into your cloſet, recall that love you always bore the Britiſh Conſtitution, and look upon the wound you are joining to inflict on it. They repented and were undone, who joined to ſtab the foremoſt man in all the world. But what was Cæſar to the conſtitution of a kingdom, much more to that of this particular kingdom, the firſt, the beſt, the moſt conſummate upon earth? You know it to be ſuch; I have heard you call it ſo; I have heard you praiſe it nobly, worthily, and wiſely; and yet you are about to pierce it with a wound that never can be cured; a wound, that tho' it may ſkin over for awhile, can never heal within; but in ſome future Time, which may it be far off! when Heaven ſhall have taken to itſelf what we are perfectly unworthy to retain, will rage afreſh and tear it all to pieces.

What is it you would have? not this, I am ſure. Come, let us name it freely; you would be an Engliſh Peer: you are worthy of it; your fortune would ſupport the diſtinction, and your virtues would ennoble it: I wiſh to ſee you one; but this is not the way.

You love your County, and you would be reſpected in it: it is impoſſible to be reſpected more. You think this ſtep will add to your popularity; but we muſt change the expreſſion. The People and the Mob are now two things, and neither

neither influence nor honour will attend this *Mobularity.*

Let the vain and venal, the poor and profligate, join in this meaſure; what have you to do with it? There is nothing you can gain, and infinite to loſe; the eſteem of all good men, and the peace of your own mind for ever.

Let us ſuppoſe one of the beſt and worthieſt of mankind, who had been led away by ſhallow Orators, to give theſe honeſt truths a hearing, what would the candour of his mind determine? You will know what: for he will ſee this, he will know it is addreſſed to him, and he will know who writes it. It will be no ſecret to him who 'tis that calls himſelf *Canana*; but 'tis a ſecret, which being thus entruſted to his confidence, he never will diſcloſe.

CANANA.

LETTER VI.

The Downfall of Petitions.

THE Storm is huſh'd,—the Tumult has ſubſided;—and now let's look about us, and ſee what was the matter. Has any body been injured? No. Has there been any Attempt to injure any one? Not that I hear of: neither the Candidate, nor the Electors, have ſuffered any harm; for he would never have ſat, whether any body elſe had been choſen or no. Expul-

ſions would have prevented that, whenever he was elected. Then what has been the matter?

Two or three cant words, and a great deal of bad beer, have raiſed up all this tumult: a motley, pye-bald, patch-work, he-ſhe thing, half man, half woman, half prieſt, half lawyer, half every thing but Good, has been employed, to ſound about the words, "Alarming Criſis." The People were aſtoniſhed; they are honeſt themſelves. and thought others told them truth: they did not know the meaning of the term; but it ſeemed ſomething terrible; and they flocked about the noiſe: innocent moths to the devouring candle: But they are ſet right: they have left the Will o' Wiſps, and not a wing is burnt, nor will be, as we hope, for ever. But it is proper they ſhould now know what creature it was that lured them to the danger.

When they have a mind to ſhew a great deal of miſchief at the theatre, they introduce a couple of people managing the manifold materials of the acting character; the gameſter's cuff, the fettered hand, the monkey's tail, the patch-work body, and the ſerjeant's head; all theſe are thrown into the maſs; and when they are worked up with a parcel of ſoft dirt, out comes a creature ready for all ſorts of miſchief; and we call it Harlequin.

Reviſe the ingredients, Reader, and ſee whether they do not all enter into that Olio of Patriotiſm, which, from the principal figure, we call *Junius*; only this laſt has one black ingredient more.

Whatever miſchievous prank is to be performed, *Junius*, (I beg his pardon, I mean Harlequin,)

quin,) is brought upon the ſtage; and whether he appears in his own form, or ſome of his diſguiſes; whether in a great coat, or a patched jerkin; whether as an old woman, or as a freeholder; the miſchief ſhews at once the character that's employed: though in ſome of the diſguiſes he does it clumſily.

Such a creature in a multitude of diſguiſes, but all mouth, ſwaggers before the Public, and bawls out "This alarming Criſis." The gaping Populace cry, What's the matter? Nobody anſwers: but the ſame terrible words, "Alarming Criſis," echo from every corner: Then, "What ſhall we do?" —— Harlequin, who had ſlipped away in the confuſion, re-enters at this word in a new form, and holds forth, with an aldermanic hand, the flaming word PETITION.

The ſcroll is ready, and the People ſign: it is too long for reading; and from the example of an hundred, ten thouſand ruſh into the folly; for there is then precedent.

Thus has the ſilly buſtle been brought about: but he that ſhall think more ill of the People of England, than ariſes from mere whim, miſunderſtands them utterly. They have been ſhewn their error; and ſee how they retract! Who ſigns any new Petitions, or what's become of thoſe that ſhould preſent them? They are ſick; they have got the new diſeaſe: it is indeed a new one to them; for 'tis the reſult of Reaſon.

Where are thoſe hands, thoſe amiable hands, that were about (O monſtrous apoſtacy!) to have preſented the Buckingham Petition? They have ſtruck the breaſt with ſhame and with re-

morſe, and mix no more with Folly or with Faction.

Where is the York Petition, that Herculean offspring, that was to ſhake the ſolid earth? 'Tis an Abortion.

Whither is the Spirit fled of that juſt-mentioned? of that which was to have been the Corner Stone, the firm Foundation of the mighty building; which was alone to have DISSOLVED THE PARLIAMENT by its reſiſtleſs eloquence and force? I cannot find the words in the Petition: it has been cut; and cutting Petitions is like cutting Plays; the fine parts always are put out by it: 'tis dead, it has breathed out its ſpirit on the way! Go, Body without Soul, ſink to the nothingneſs from whence you took your being; and let your memory ſtand forth for ever as an example and a warning! I foreſaw your fate, and I foretold it: I ſee it, and rejoice in it: 'tis over: we may for ever depend upon the good ſenſe and integrity of the Engliſh People.

CANANA.

LETTER VII.

On the Alarming Criſis.

IS the ALARMING CRISIS over? We hear little of it; and we ſhall hear leſs: but it muſt not ſink unexamined to oblivion. The People, who have judged ſo truly of the reſt, ſhall be reminded

minded to determine upon this alſo. In points ſo palpably abſurd, he that can engage them but to think, is ſure of victory.

Let us review together our condition: we are arrived, 'tis certain, at an heighth of Riches, Power, and Glory, that not ourſelves alone, but that no People upon earth have ever reached before: but till we are riſen as high as Poſſibility can place us, we are not at a *Criſis:* And who ſhall tell to what that may aſcend? Philoſophers have ſaid, no one ever knew the extent of human underſtanding: 'tis equally to be aſſumed of Commerce, and Proſperity.

But if we had reached this ſituation, is it terrible? Is it alarming, ruinous, deſtructive? At leaſt in the bold advance that Britain has made toward it, there is nothing but Wealth, Happineſs, and Honour: we are bleſſed with every gift of Heaven among ourſelves (except what we chuſe to take from ourſelves); we are reſpected by our friends, feared by our enemies, and courted by every enterpriſing Power: and, what is greater glory far than all, we ſtand uninfluenced, except alone by Juſtice.

In private life, the Merchant's Store-rooms cannot hold his goods; the Tradeſman's Shop ſwells to a Warehouſe: the Shopkeeper has his country houſe, for three days of the ſeven; and the Mechanic is ſo well paid, that he does not think it worth his while to work more than the other four: a million are employed in the mere packing up of bales; the carts are running over one another in the ſtreets; and the ſea groans beneath the weight of ſhipping.

What Criſis! what Alarm, what Ruin is there

in this? I will not ſay the factious talk of it till they themſelves believe there is; but they preſume they ſhall lead others to believe it! Vain hope! abſurd preſumption! 'Tis but to look into the ſtreets, to doubt the aſſertion; to think, muſt bring conviction.

There is no Criſis then, ſuch as theſe noiſy brawlers would pretend. But there is one, indeed, they do not ſee;—and, though in a light very different from what is expreſſed by their ſenſe of the word, it muſt be owned alarming. We are too rich, too proſperous: and few minds can bear proſperity. The exceſſes of our Traders threaten them with ruin,—while every thing around them courts their happineſs.

Buildings encreaſe, till a new London is added to the old; the ſecondary habitation of its Merchants: but while they remove thus from their buſineſs, their buſineſs will remove with equal ſteps from them.

The Tradeſman, tired with the virtues of an honeſt wife, muſt have his flaunting miſtreſs, to devour him; and while he expends a thouſand pounds to furniſh her apartment, the Bailiff is behind, with writs and executions.

The Lady of the Shop has her Aſſemblies: the wax-lights are diſpoſed; the cards are ſet: ſhe loathes the lingering hours, till evening puts an end to the trouble of her penny cuſtomers; and ſhe can ſtake the profits of ſix months upon delightful Pam.

Mean-time the Huſband has his Favourite at the villa; and the 'Prentice hugs his ſtrumpet in the Green Boxes. The Wife muſt wink at the depredations of the Till; for that muſt pay theſe pleaſures;

pleaſures: and how ſhall ſhe deny connivance, when the Boy does the drudgery at home?

Thus goes on Buſineſs, till the Huſband retires to the Fleet, the Boy to the Plantations, and the Lady to the end of Catherine-ſtreet: while the ſober Journeyman, ſober as long as he is not too rich, enters upon the ſhop; to marry, to have Journeymen and 'Prentices, to keep his Favourite, and repeat the whole proceeding.

Such is the Criſis, and 'tis alarming enough; but it does not affect the general body; for what one loſes thus, another gains: Trade changes hands; and perhaps ſometimes for the better.

This is our ſtate at home; and as to the great bugbear of the Colonies, they ſee but a little way indeed who think that terrible. As for the politics of theſe turbulent People, they lie in a ſmall compaſs; to bully their Governors, if they can; and, when that fails, to plague them with Petitions. As to their home manufactures, 'tis moſt of it pretence: they are too lazy; labour is too dear: and they are too ſevere and inſolent for Britiſh workmen to endure them. Indeed, they are excellent Smugglers.—If they are kept from their illicit trade with the French Iſlands, they'll ſoon come to us again for their uſual ſupplies of goods: and I know ſo much of the virtues and the wiſdom of the Earl of Hillſborough, that I have no doubt this point will be accompliſhed.

CANANA.

LETTER VIII.

Of the Importance of the London Patriots.

I DON'T know how it came into my mind, but I have for ſome time thought, with extreme ſorrow, the horde of London Patriots was extinct. I fancied that in the poor appearance of the laſt Petition, and in their miſerable defeat in Broad-ſtreet, they had, like the Dragon in the ballad, groan'd, kick'd, and I don't know what beſides, and dyed; but 'tis quite otherwiſe, and ſee! they figure again in all the glory of Advertiſement.

I am not to be informed that there are ſome dull people who ſuppoſe this innocent aſſociation miſchievous; and would be glad to ſee it come to nothing. Theſe ſlight obſervers conſider the Gentlemen as Politicians; and think them capable of raiſing diſturbances: but in this I can neither allow the premiſes, nor agree to the concluſion. The harmleſs Creatures have neither the cunning nor the tooth of ſuch Serpents: but tho' they are no Politicians, I think they have many claims to our regard: I think them excellent improvers of the uſeful arts; and very great promoters of the revenue.

In arithmetic, the moſt uſeful of all the auxiliary ſciences, we have been uſed to fancy five was not half ſo much as eleven; but we are now taught otherwiſe; for theſe Gentlemen, or ſome Patriots elſe, the upholders of Petitions, having got the names of 5000 Electors of Weſtminſter from, it is ſaid, upwards of 16,000, declare the

paper

paper a Petition of thoſe Electors: nay they deliver it as ſuch to their Sovereign. Can there be greater proof? They would not inſult the Throne by a falſe Repreſentation; nor hurt their Cauſe by a ridiculous Blunder: They muſt know very well it is not a Petition of the Electors, unleſs at leaſt one half of them have ſigned it: therefore they unqueſtionably do know, tho' we don't, that five is the half of ſixteen; and 'tis impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe. But notwithſtanding I ſee all the force and value of this new method of account, in the matter of Petitions, I muſt object againſt its being extended to book debts and ſhop bills, becauſe the conſequences might be ſerious.—Theſe ingenious Gentlemen have always been happy in ſerving whatever cauſe they affected to oppoſe: They have in this one fact ſhewn, better than all my aſſertions, that to petition the King to diſſolve the Parliament is not the ſenſe of the People.

But theſe are laurels that drop by chance upon their wiſe and honourable heads; and it was not for this I undertook to write their Panegyric: There are ſome important offices which I am confident they underſtand much better than the Miniſtry. Eating and drinking are buſineſs of life and death; and who are more maſters of them? Advertiſements pay largely to the ſervices of the State, and who has the art of promoting that Revenue better? It is impoſſible any thing they publiſh ſhould anſwer any other purpoſe.

There is no man ſo much an Infidel as to diſpute the honour of good drinking; the conſecration of fountains has been a holy taſk: And

what

what is there beſide, that forms the manners, enlarges the underſtanding, or adds to the dignity of mankind, like a third bottle? I dare ſay they are better Engliſhmen than to drink the wines of France: but there is one particular, for I love to think of adding to their uſe, which I wiſh they would aſpire to learn even from our natural enemies; that is the love of the Fumette. It would anſwer an excellent purpoſe to the reſt of the People in taking off thoſe Cattle upon which foreſtalling has brought again the miſchievous diſtemper: and they might be of the ſame real ſervice as Gypſies are in a lower capacity in countries where there are no Vulturs.

With theſe hopes, and upon ſeveral other material conſiderations, I ſhould indeed wiſh that not only the purpoſe, but the name of the Meetings might be changed; and that for the future we might be allowed to call them the Bill of Fare Men. All the good purpoſes of parade and jollity may be anſwered with ſecurity, by turning their attention upon theſe eſſential ſupports of the human conſtitution; and indeed one cannot ſay to what lengths the other buſineſs might have gone: There is ſome danger in tipſy Politics, and one does not know how ſuddenly good Men might have been taken off by it. There was a night when but for the ſpirit of C — the Moſs Troopers would have been about our ears again; and Saufey Money would no longer have been in London an unintelligible term.

Another uſeful point we gain by this Society, is the diſburthening of overgrown fortunes, in hands that don't deſerve them. If a man has been

been enrich'd by the Government, and hates his natural heirs, and feels himſelf unworthy the poſſeſſion, where can ingratitude and impiety direct his laviſh hand, ſo well as to a ſubſcription? It will not only diſburthen his own conſcience; but perpetuate the memory of the ſociety: for his deſcendants ſhall long remember how they became beggars.

Laſtly, there are no people who have more promoted the praiſe of virtuous deeds; or heightened honeſt fame. I am ſenſible this will appear a paradox: but it is no more than juſt to attribute to theſe Gentlemen the conſequences of their own actions; though not intended by them. Their writers have a peculiar talent at abuſing amiable characters: the People have found this, and they underſtand all to be ſuch, whom they abuſe: and nothing is ſo obſtinate in the right as the temper of the Engliſh. Whomſoever Junius inſults, mankind are ſenſible deſerves praiſe. L— G—— has been one of his natural objects; and what is the effect? I'll tell you what I ſaw: A great number of ſoldiers were ſcattered upon the road, in a ſultry, duſty day, with their wives and hard-born infants in the waggons. They were faint and fatigued with heat, and groaning under every diſadvantage, when their General happened to paſs by them. Pain and fatigue forſook them at his ſight; and only joy was ſeen in every honeſt countenance. The air echoed with "Long live the Marquis! God preſerve "the noble Granby, the poor ſoldier's friend!" Theſe ſentiments would have always lived in the ſoldiers hearts; for what men are ſo honeſt? but the pathetic eagerneſs which gave them ut-

terance, grew upon the inſult: it roſe from this favourite Author's having abuſed a virtue he was not worthy to commend.

CANANA.

LETTER IX.

To the Freeholders of the remote Counties.

I Deſire you will conſider me as one who loves you, and has no other cauſe for writing; and therefore read what I ſhall ſay with ſoberneſs. You live far from the place of public buſineſs, and have few opportunities to know the truth; and there are many people who have an intention to deceive you. I am one of yourſelves, and I have no intereſt but yours.

Every reaſonable man has ſome purpoſe of good to himſelf in what he undertakes; but what do you ſuppoſe will be the end of this diſturbance, that you are beguiled to aſſiſt in making? I do aſſure you, it will come to nothing: but if it anſwered, what would you be gainers? Not the leaſt; but I will ſhew you farther, wherein you muſt loſe.

You deſire the King to diſſolve the Parliament; becauſe, as you think, they have done what they had not a right to do; but that is a queſtion which is not yet determined. You ought to wait till it is, that you may know whether your Petition is not diſhoneſt: if it ſhould prove that they have done nothing but right (as probably

bably it will) all that you are about is perfectly ridiculous; and no man loves to be laughed at.

It is but a ſmall number of people, in proportion to all the Electors in the kingdom, that have ſigned Petitions to this purpoſe; and it is not likely many more ſhould: but if ten times the number did ſign, that would not ſtill amount to half the Freeholders of the kingdom, nor any thing like it; and your own reaſon will tell you, that, unleſs the Petitions were ſigned by full half, the King cannot, if he were ſo diſpoſed, regard them; becauſe they are not a Petition of the Electors of the kingdom. A ſmall number of the bodies muſt not ſtand for all the reſt.

But ſuppoſe it ſhould happen, though it never will, that a majority of the Electors of England ſhould petition his Majeſty to do this; you muſt conſider that the King is wiſe and juſt; and that the Parliament is a moſt reſpectable body; he would therefore ſtay to enquire firſt whether they had done amiſs, or whether you have not been deceived. I could tell you before-hand (if theſe were things fit for me or you to judge of,) that nothing wrong has been done; and therefore no ſuch thing could be the conſequence.

But, to ſhew you thoroughly how you have been deceived, I ſhall remind you farther, that if the Parliament ſhould have been in fault, and if the King ſhould have diſſolved them, you would ſtill have been the loſers.

Things grow cheap that often come to market: if you had got a new election now, you muſt expect another this time twelvemonth. The people who are out of place have found theſe faults;

faults; and as their coming in would put others out, thoſe would take their turn to find fault next; and to get new Petitions. No Parliament ever gave leſs cauſe than the preſent; therefore ſome pretence would never be wanting: and the King, having granted it on this occaſion, could not eaſily refuſe it on the other.

When Parliaments were ſo frequently choſen, who would get any thing by Elections? Indeed, the deſign of theſe cajoling Gentry is, that you ſhould get nothing. The very beer would not ſmell of malt nor hops. They expect to be choſen without giving you thanks for it. It is a trick upon you: nothing elſe; but your votes are your own, and 'tis not they that can reduce the value, without you join in it.

Thus you ſee what a ſnare has been laid for you; but there is now no danger. You who live a great way off have intelligence ſlowly: you are taking a world of pains about a thing that's at an end.

In the mean while, conſider you are diſobliging moſt of the great men in your neighbourhoods, who could be of ſervice to you; to pleaſe a pack of ſtrangers, who deſign you nothing but miſchief; and have it not in their power to do you any good, if they were willing. You are doing that which is diſpleaſing to all good men; and, what is much more, you are making diſturbances among the People, which is a great crime in the eye of God: your Clergyman will tell you ſo. Aſk him, and you will not any longer join thoſe wicked purpoſes.

CANANA.

LET-

LETTER X.

On Volunteer Preſenters.

WHEN a Petition from one county is delivered by an obſcure perſon of another, there needs no farther proof of its inſignificancy: indeed, every mile of diſtance between the Preſenter and the Parties ought to be meaſured into the degree of folly and preſumption. It cannot be, but reaſon will declare at once, ſince there are men of ſenſe and property, of knowledge and condition, in the place from whence this comes; and yet it is a ſtranger who appears with it; it is not their Petition. It muſt be —— but what it muſt be, is ſo very plain, I ſhall not inſult the Reader's underſtanding by naming it.

The report of ſuch a Petition from one place ſhall, notwithſtanding, be urged as authority for a like proceeding in another; merely becauſe no notice has been taken of its abſurdity: and this is one point wherein I think there has been great blame in the neglecting to inform the People.

There was a time, and it is not long ſince, when names of conſequence were freely boaſted, as giving countenance to this abominable nonſenſe; and we were told as boldly, that ſuch, and no others, ſhould preſent them. I ventured to oppoſe the reigning error, and reaſon'd coolly upon the wickedneſs, the folly, and the danger. So

powerful

powerful is truth, even in the weakeſt hand, that though no other means were uſed, the Faction was forſaken by thoſe perſons. But in the catalogues of news-papers all ſtand for important; and one name anſwers the purpoſe of deluſion, among thoſe who know no difference, equally with another.

Ignorance is bold: there is a quality, which, from the character of thoſe who poſſeſs it, we are uſed to call Foolhardineſs; and there are thoſe of a congenial character, on whom this impoſes, under the name of Spirit.

Nor has the manner of procuring ſome Petitions been very different from the means of their delivery. Shall I have leave to ſtate it fairly, by a parallel inſtance?

Upon my coming to town, I had the honour of cards from three or four different perſons, for what it is the faſhion to call a *private party*. I obeyed them all; but, to my utter aſtoniſhment, found no variety: I met at every one of them the ſelf-ſame ſet of faces: the ſame old * Tabbies, and the ſame young Gentlemen, compoſed the party, whether it was at Madam this, or Lady t'other's; whether in Brook-ſtreet, or Pall-mall; by May-Fair, or at Marybone. In the ſame manner, when one obeys the cards for a Petition, whether it is to be named from Middleſex or Eſſex, from London or from Surry, from Weſtminſter or Southwark; or whether it is to come from places ever ſo remote; one meets on the occaſion, at all times, the ſame faces; hears the ſame voices; and liſtens (if it be in human na-

* A cant term for grey women, who cheat at cards.

ture

ture to liſten to ſuch folly) to the ſame arguments.

Theſe Citizens of the World have equal buſineſs and equal right in all quarters: and while the ſcene is changed; for that is all that is changed; the matter is the ſame. So ſay the Chronicles of Truth *; and who has once denied it!

Thus we are to ſee all the People of England in the form of half a dozen inconſiderable perſons: theſe are to trample upon decency and order: theſe are to overturn the nobleſt conſtitution in the world: theſe are to obtain a diſſolution of the Britiſh Parliament! and if one of theſe chuſes to ſtand forwarder than the reſt, the People of England are expected to humble themſelves to the duſt before him; while theſe their Volunteer Repreſentatives cry out in the language of the Eaſt, "O Sultan! whom the mountains of Taſgai "have brought forth, rule thy ſlaves according "to thy pleaſure!"

It would be to rule indeed, if it were ſo; for what other ſovereignty can be like that which triumphs over reaſon? this might do, if they had fools to deal with: but 'tis quite otherwiſe: thoſe they would dupe and bubble, are the Engliſh People! a People who are neither to be thus enſlaved; nor to be thus repreſented; a People, who knowing the Houſe of Commons to be their natural protectors, would tremble at its diſſolution, even if there were cauſe; and who muſt hold the thought in equal horror and deteſtation here.

* The News-papers.

The Engliſh are allowed the braveſt and boldeſt of mankind: they love theſe qualities, whereever they appear: and when a man will fight, they will reſpect him for it, though 'tis an ill cauſe. The boldneſs of one man firſt rouſed this turbulent ſpirit among them: not that they thought it well directed; only, in ſhort, it was boldneſs: But this man, now their eyes are opened, ceaſes to be, or to appear, the object of contention. Thoſe who aſſociated on his account, have in a manner left him out of the cauſe: and as to himſelf, while a miſguided multitude are ſeeking reparation for his being kept out of the Houſe, he appears to have deſired the very thing they are reſenting.

I enter into the ſecrets of no man's heart; but all may reaſon from their actions: I may therefore be allowed, without indecency, to believe he ſought this cataſtrophe; ſince if a wiſe man had deſired, he could not have taken meaſures more likely to produce it.

Thus have an inconſiderate multitude been led, by an artful ſet of people, to eſpouſe a man for ſuffering what he probably deſired; to ſupport a body of men for being his friends, who have long ſince deſerted him; and all this, in reality, with the unſeen end of giving power again to thoſe very perſons whom they hated, deſpiſed, and inſulted, when they had it.

CANANA.

LET-

LETTER XI.

The Decline of the Party.

THERE is a manner of converſation, among the people of the *Ton*, that deſerves great commendation: it is a middle ſomething, between a mumble and a whiſper; which, blending the whole Sentence by a melting Softneſs, and, (in abhorrence of the paltry cuſtom of the Stage,) always dropping the laſt word; moſt obligingly prevents things from being heard; ſome of which, perhaps, were not very fit to have been ſaid.

The Bill of Fare Men have adopted this refinement into Politics; for nothing from the Weſt can eſcape the imitation of the City: and their influence, like the glow of Titian's ſunſhine, ſpreading over the whole canvas, has now diffuſed the manner through the remoteſt counties.

Nothing was ſo plain as what theſe aſſociated Gentlemen ſpoke at firſt; their Demands then had tongues, though they were ſo modeſt as to call them only Petitions; and they never dropped the laſt words of DISSOLVE THE PARLIAMENT!—but *tempora mutantur*, one News-paper Politician has driven them out of the field; and,

as it was always difficult to underſtand, it is now impoſſible to hear them. The Counties catch the inarticulate voice; and Britons (ſo *they* call themſelves) always improve what they condeſcend to imitate. The capital Petition, indeed, only left out thoſe naughty words; but, that you may not accuſe the Printer of the virtue of thoſe Patriots, the Gentlemen of Hereford expreſsly tell you, that their Petition does not mention a Diſſolution of the Parliament.

It is not here that I ſhall ſtop the praiſes of the Tavern Aſſembly; nor is all their applauſe to take its riſe from ſo ſlight a quality as politeneſs. Themſelves, I have obſerved in a former Letter, have found a cunning way to beſtow on virtuous characters a great deal of praiſe; and their ſpeaker, Junius, is, (under all the ſeemings of malevolence) ſometimes the firſt of Panegyriſts. The D of G. has been a conſiderable time at the head of affairs; and Junius, and the Argus eyes of the whole train, have watched him narrowly in all his actions: Now what have they diſcovered?—Two Country Juſtices made, without naming them to the Lord Lieutenant; an Officer reſcued from Bailiffs; and money made of a place, which he had GIVEN; aye, and given to a man of worth and honour. Theſe are the crimes of which this Nobleman ſtands accuſed; though, for aught we ſee, he may not have had ſo much as the knowledge of any one of them. And now let the accuſers tell me what Miniſter has diſcharged his office, for an equal time, with fewer faults; and I will give them credit for ſome other matters. It grieves me to name their

premier

premier Writer harſhly, becauſe there is a pity grows upon diſtreſs; and probably, though nothing more than contempt awaits the Tavern Gentlemen; his fate may be more ſerious.

When I conſider this Author as a man of rank and fortune; as one that has refuſed great offers; and one who it is impoſſible ever ſhould be known; (and all theſe things I muſt believe, for he has told me them all himſelf;) I lament his Quality; I grieve for his Indiſcretion; and am aſtoniſhed he ſhould think bad men could hold together.

Though with very humble claims to the rank of Authorſhip, few people reverence Genius more than I do; notwithſtanding the impious profanation Printing has lately ſuffered, I ſtill revere the ſacred liberty of the Preſs; and bluſh, that even in the moſt diſhoneſt cauſe, the worſt of Writers ſhould have proſtituted himſelf ſo far, that the ſight of his ſignature ſhould take away all credit. Though he has nothing of that milkineſs of blood, men call Good-nature, I have compaſſion for him as a man, which ſuppreſſes many things relating to himſelf, while I ſhew ſo little mercy to his Opinions. I have oppoſed them, becauſe they might, in weak minds, do ſome miſchief; and I have been at pains to ſpread that oppoſition farther than the bounds of the metropolis; becauſe 'twas at moſt diſtance they were of moſt danger. Mens minds are now altered; for they needed nothing more than to have Truth made plain before them: The Peaſant ſees he has been bold at the expence of duty; the Artificer feels riot to be the bane of trade; and the jolly 'Squire

reſumes

reſumes the glory of the chace, and will open no more in this Nimrod hunting of a Miniſtry. Reaſon is heard; all ſettles to itſelf; and I foreſee a ſhort end of my little labours: Few ſign Petitions now, but ſuch as ſcarce can write their names to them; the Tavern-bawlers ſink into a ſilent and a ſoft repoſe; and none clamour in the Country, but ſuch as, according to Locke's determination, are noiſieſt about opinions, becauſe they entertain no ſenſe of what they are.

CANANA.

LETTER XII.

The Overthrow of the Faction.

AT the time when upright zeal brought forth Canana, the kingdom rung from ſea to ſea with thoſe ill-conſidered words—DISSOLVE THE PARLIAMENT! And not the meaneſt of the Rabble alone: but ſome whoſe lives had ſpoke a different character, were, by a ſtrange fatality, led to join the cry.

But this was only becauſe the ſubject had been ill conſidered: and from the time a calm and rational

tional appeal was firſt made to their judgment, we ſaw the fury of the folly ſlackened: We now ſee, and all honeſt minds ſee it with a ſincere joy, 'tis at an end, 'tis over, and 'tis nothing.

The names we uſed to read with ſorrow, are withdrawn; and in their place we find no new ones, except ſuch as would do no credit to a better cauſe. No freſh Petition has been ſet on foot; and thoſe which Pride, not Judgment, is aſhamed to drop, have blotted out the offenſive terms; or claimed a merit from not uſing them. The purpoſe of theſe Papers is accompliſhed: and if there ſhould ſeem to any, ſo pitiful a fault as vanity in their Writer, while he declares this victory; the poorneſs of the enemy ought to plead in his exemption. He is happy to ſee the new Year begin with fairer auſpices; and unknown to all mankind, and unſolicitous of thanks or praiſe, rejoices inwardly to have contributed ſomething to the repoſe of his Country.

The viſible change muſt give a joy to every upright heart; and it will laſt, becauſe the overthrow is total: The drunken diſturbers of our peace in town are now grown too ridiculous to laugh at; while in the ſeveral Counties reaſon bears her natural ſway, except with brutes and idiots; and all new attempts of artifice and deluſion are ſhrunk to nothing before her tribunal.

Thoſe very men reverence now the Britiſh firmneſs, and the honourable conſiſtency of the Northern Baronet, who but a little while ago profaned their tongues with ſlanders as he ſpoke: and only two days ſince, when the very cunningeſt of the Tavern emiſſaries would have been tampering with

with a plain Huſbandman of Leiceſterſhire *, he drew

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*ADDITIONAL LETTER,

From the LEICESTER JOURNAL,

On the Errors of Country Petitioners.

THE credit of your Paper reaches London; and I have ſeen JOHN MOODY's Letter: I think I trace the *Grey Coat* at the bottom; and I ſhall endeavonr to ſet all right together.

Your Correſpondent ſeems a Gentleman, and a man of Senſe, and, to the beſt of his Information, I believe, is an upright Politician; but he lives remote from the center of intelligence; and I dare ſay his candour will take it kindly of me, when I let him know what is now doing.——If the facts ſtood as he ſuppoſes; I would be of his opinion: and when he finds they do not, I have no doubt but he will come over to mine. To meet the Gentleman upon his own ground; we'll ſtate the caſe as it appears to him. He wiſhes the King to diſſolve the Parliament, and ſolicits the Freeholders of Leiceſterſhire to join with him; and this, becauſe he thinks,

1ſt, That the People of England are unanimous in their opinions.

2d, That the Petitions will be general throughout the kingdom.

3d, That the moſt ſubſtantial and reſpectable perſons in the Counties join in them.

4th, That they will produce a general Good.

I do not reproach this Gentleman with want of better information; but if he will give me leave, we will walk over this courſe of Politics together; and he ſhall ſee how very much ſome bad men have deceived him.

The People do not unanimouſly favour this meaſure; for men of Senſe, Integrity, and Property, deſpiſe it: I do not know who might be induced to join it in Leiceſterſhire; but here 'tis principally the very loweſt of the Rabble;

drew back confounded, and amazed at the man's reply: "You want that we ſhould aſk to diſſolve "the

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ble; and in our neighbouring County, Eſſex, where there is juſt now a Petition, the very News-papers aſſure us, That *no one Gentleman reſiding in the whole County has ſigned it.* 'Tis true, I ſuppoſe; for no man contradicts it.

Nay, they that do petition, are not unanimous even amongſt themſelves; for though the words DISSOLVE THE PARLIAMENT have been, with the reſt, the burthen of the ballad, yet the moſt famous one of all does not aſk it. Let me add one thing more, and leave your Correſpondent's thoughts to work a moment. This was the capital Petition of all; and Lords, and noble Members, and I know not who, were expected to preſent it: their names were printed; but the Petition went without the leaſt of them. They grew ſick, very ſick, of the cauſe; and it was better late than never to ſtartle at the danger.

The reſt of the ready-made Petitions ſtuck ſtrangely by the way; and that from Weſtminſter, for the preſenting of which the greateſt names were alſo talked of, was carried to St. James's by two Chairmen—Norfolk rejected the propoſal with a juſt diſdain; and you'll ſee, if it ſhould be attempted in Leiceſterſhire, they will alſo reject it: and it will ſcarce be heard of in any other Counties.

The opinion then, we ſee, is neither general or reſpectable: your Correſpondent will allow me that. But I muſt tell him further, that theſe Diſturbers of the Government are indeed unanimous in nothing. The Nation echoed with the words ALARMING CRISIS; but the very arguments of Canana have driven them out of doors; and, if public accounts ſay true, the Earl of ——— dropt the word, and for ALARMING wrote PARTICULAR.

Nay your very Correſpondent himſelf, in his opinion on the moſt ſacred ſubject upon earth, ſtands at variance with them all. He applauds the King, for that his Majeſty has called himſelf a BRITON; and he does it juſtly, and wiſely, warmly, and nobly: and I could hug him for it; and all good men will love him: and yet their writer, JUNIUS, has this very day choſe theſe very ſame words, A BRITON, when ſpoken on the ſame occaſion, as a cauſe to ſay things to

" the Parliament, that we may have nobody to " take care of us; and you make mobs, that ſol- " diers may be neceſſary: We know Liberty too " well, to quarrel with its natural defenders; and " we don't deſire a military government." The pretended Patriot ſhrunk away with a frighted

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the KING, which no hands ſhould anſwer but the Hangman's.

Your Correſpondent will now ſee, that there is neither value, reſpect, nor unanimity among theſe people; nay that himſelf, (although he thought it) is not one of them; he is too wiſe, too upright, and too honeſt.

One point remains therefore only to be decided, and but one; the Good or Ill the People of England would receive, if this was brought to the event, which the turbulence of miſguided men deſire. Can any one in the world ſuppoſe the Diſſolution of the preſent Parliament would be productive of any good? It is impoſſible. Does any one think they care about the Parliament, who talk thus concerning it? No truly.——They want the profitable places of the State, and would do any miſchief to procure them. Their own Writer, the ſame JUNIUS, has declared, that the great Patriot of all, divided one half of the Britiſh empire from the other; while all he wanted was to get a ſervant of the Crown out of his place. It is a horrid thought! Let it ſtand forward as a warning to your Correſpondent, and your Freeholders, to take no part in the like purpoſes. The Parliament is their defence, and their protection; nor have theſe men either Power or Intereſt, who oppoſe it: they are a rope of ſand; a ſtring of bubbles: the very breath of Honeſty will ſcatter or will burſt them. But in juſt oppoſition to this, I hope to ſee the People of Leiceſterſhire firm as the Porphyry of their own Mountſorrel; and to hear them anſwer to all ſolicitations of this ſilly ſort, That they are no Couſins of the ſly Yorkſhire Man, who, as the Papers tell us, when he ſigned the Petition of that County, ſaid, " 'Twas to get Lord R——— his place again."

CANANA.

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aſtoniſhment: ſuch as he once ſaw ſhake the breaſt of ***, when the cleanly houſe-maid ſwept into the ſtreet an unfiniſhed *Junius*, with the name to it.

Junius! you too are fallen! not by my hand, but by your own; nor do I wiſh to triumph in your deſtruction; or feel any thing beſide compaſſion for your misfortunes. If you ever ſuppoſed yourſelf an object of reſentment to me, it was an error; if of terror, 'twas ridiculous. My buſineſs never was with you; 'twas with the People; and, now they are diſabuſed, it ceaſes. Nor while it laſted, can you ſay I ever treated you, (though I did your opinions,) with ſeverity. I never triumphed in the little ſhare that I full well knew you had in yourſelf; I never told to whom theſe formidable Papers were always ſent before they were permitted to be publiſhed; I never explained why, of all Miniſters in your time, in, or paſt the Chair, ONE ONLY never was abuſed by *Junius*: For theſe things might have led to a diſcovery I had no wiſh to make.

I traced you through thoſe various diſguiſes in which you ſounded to the ſkies, or ſunk to hell, the ſame name, as it anſwered beſt the purpoſe of the hour. But ſtill it was the Writer, not the Perſon, that I combated: I followed you through all thoſe ſignatures, under the maſk of which you ſeverally wrote to yourſelf, anſwered yourſelf, replied to yourſelf, praiſed yourſelf, nay, and ſometimes abuſed yourſelf; and I have ſhewn that SELF through all of them. I gave the People to know what you were, though I have never told them who. The artifices uſed to delude have always been my object, and not the Author of them:

and

and, now the purpoſe is defeated, I have no buſineſs with the Perſon. I take my eternal leave of Politics and you. The Tavern Club is grown contemptible; the Alarming Criſis is quite over; we have no new Petitions to diſſolve the Parliament! The conjuncture which gave me exiſtence is at an end; and I ceaſe with it. The letters of my name are reſolved again into the Alphabet, and no more will be heard of

CANANA.

FINIS.

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